

Axis of succession and axis of intention of time: Unpacking temporal dynamics of colonial space in Jerusalem

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Abstract

The article explores the impact of colonial urban planning on the temporal dynamics of the colonized people. This is discussed using the city of East Jerusalem as a colonized city, and the area of Kufr Aqab, located within the municipal boundaries but outside the Separation Wall, as a case-study. The article argues that the use of the spatial policy of colonial urban planning affects the daily lives of the colonized people not only spatially but also temporally and in different ways. The methodology is both qualitative and quantitative, and based on Elliott Jaques's theory on the "Form of Time" taking into consideration what he identifies as the axis of succession and the axis of intention of time. These axes are reflected in the succession of time episodes as well as the intentions of the people, thus showing the effect of how the past, present and future are perceived. This is supported by quantitative analyses of a questionnaire of a sample of 284 people from Kufr Aqab in East Jerusalem. The article explains how colonial policies deeply affect the temporal dynamics of the daily lives of the colonized people, creating loops of temporal episodes that affect the essence of perception of time, its organization and management, as well as their adopted life style.

Keywords

Colonial urban planning, Israeli checkpoints, Jerusalem, Temporal control, Time.

1. Introduction

For thousands of years, the concept of “time” has been a subject thought about by philosophers, physicists, and social scientists. Literature on time is therefore abundant, whether within philosophy such as Martin Heidegger’s *Being and Time* (1953), extending to other areas such as economics, physics, human rights, or social and behavioral sciences. Many have contributed to the discussion and development of its meanings and interpretations, whether about time itself or combined with the concept of “space”, as well as other concepts. Anthony Giddens, for example explained the importance of the space-time concept, not as mere containers but as constitutive features of social systems where relations between objects and events are expressed (1981: 30-1). Alfred North Whitehead also saw that events are not substantive entities but a sequence of temporal-spatial entities within a process where the character of space is emphasized through time (1926: 52). Also discussed have been time-budget studies to assess how time is used across periods and how temporal rhythms reflect the analyses of urban life, traffic, and lifestyles. Analysis of travel times between different spatial areas and nodes, and their influence on deciding the location of different facilities or amenities, has been tackled within urban studies, urban planning and urban geography (See Mir et al, 2010, and Rao and Rao 2012). Other studies have analyzed time in relation to space and movement in different parts of the world. A quantitative approach to urban analysis as an example was developed by Chen Zhong in collaboration with others to identify urban transformation in Singapore and to reveal the spatial structure of urban movements; the spatial analyses were done first and the travel records were documented to evaluate travel demand to identify urban hubs, centers and borders (Zhong et al. 2014). Also, statistical analysis of human travel has been implemented in cities such as London, Shenzhen in China, and Santiago in Chile (See Park et al 2008, Liang et al 2009, Munizaga and Palma 2012).

Space and time are often dialectical in their influence on each other. When space is developed or changed, temporal dynamics change. Thus, when urban planning strategies and tools are used, they affect the development of space and consequently the temporal dynamics in terms of perception and practice of the people who use it. In colonial settings, when urban planning is used as a spatial policy by a colonial power, the changes in urban space may be vast and therefore the influence on “time” is enormous.

This paper shall focus on “time” within the specific context of a colonial setting, and under the impact of the spatial policy of Colonial Urban Planning, in which the colonizer organizes and re-organizes spaces through its apparatus according to its own interests and at the expense of the colonized local inhabitants. Using the city of Jerusalem, the research builds on existing research that: 1) places the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in a colonial framework and regards Israeli control over the Palestinian territory, occupied in 1967 including East Jerusalem, as a form of colonialism (See for example: Rodinson 1973, Davis 2003, Veracini 2006, Pappe 2007, Halper 2008), and 2) analyzes colonial urban planning, which developed spaces of control and spaces of resistance in various parts of the world (See for example King 1976, Legg 2007, Hosagrahar 2005, Yeoh 2003, Celik 1997, Samman 2013, 2018, Rakodi 1995, Kusno 2000, Parera 1988). Such studies have developed important discussions about several variables that affect colonial urban planning. However, while these variables may have been analyzed within the broader context of the passage of time in history, none have focused on time as a distinct variable and the power to save or deplete it within a colonial framework. Thus, the broader objective of the research is to advance the understanding on how colonial urban planning impacts the temporal dynamics of the colonized.

Many studies have analyzed aspects of colonial urban planning and its impact on the control of space in the Occupied Palestinian Territory including East Jerusalem, such as Eyal Weizman’s study on the architecture of occupa-

tion (Weizman 2007), Oren Yiftachel's study on settlements (Yiftachel 2003), Ray Dolphin's study on the Separation Wall (Dolphin, 2006), Nurhan Abuji-di's study on urbicide and the impact of the conflict on Palestinian urban space (Abuji-di 2014), and Saifi and Samman's study in 2019 on urbicide and housing. However, little research has been done about the colonial control of time. Jerusalem, currently under Israeli rule provides an important case study to analyze "time" as the colonial control is ongoing. This is not the case if the focus is on studying examples of past colonial situations, such as the French colony in Algiers or the British colony in Sri Lanka.

As an advanced form of colonial power, Israel has created new forms of colonization and colonial control; it has not only colonized the space and people, but also the colonized's time. The colonized's time is successive-

ly elasticized to create new elongated rhythms of daily lives of the Palestinians. The use of the spatial policy of colonial urban planning in Jerusalem has created a geopolitical map of the city in which spaces are separated and segregated and people's everyday life is controlled in different ways. The spatial policy of colonial urban planning began in the Occupied Palestinian Territory including East Jerusalem after the 1967 war, when the new boundaries of Jerusalem were demarcated to include vacant lands and to exclude populated areas. These vacant lands were gradually used for building Israeli settlements.

After 1991, this policy became more obvious when, checkpoints became an increased means of enforcing closures in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and around East Jerusalem, thus creating fragmented areas in the occupied territory. Since 2002, this policy has been augmented by the building of the Segregation Wall, further raising the level of segregation, surveillance and control (See Figure 1). Thus, colonial urban development creeps through space incrementally and transforms the colonized's space into one that is dominated, controlled and where the colonized's everyday life is surveilled and controlled. This is part of what Jeff Halper calls creating facts on the ground as part of a matrix of control (Halper, 2008). This is the result of implanting various kinds of colonial elements, and thus enforcing a new spatial reality, whether in terms of Israeli settlements, Israeli outposts, or areas demarcated as nature reserves and later used for Israeli colonies or settlements, military outposts, security headquarters or bases. These entail confiscation of Palestinian land thus minimizing areas available for Palestinian building and growth. Various types of infrastructure such as roads, highways, and the Segregation Wall are also used to exclude and divide different urban areas. Part of the Segregation Wall runs through the northern part of the Jerusalem Ramallah main artery (See Figure 2). What used to be a four-lane road, is now a two-lane road from each side of the Wall, and has been severed by the Qalandia checkpoint (See Samman 2013: 110-123).

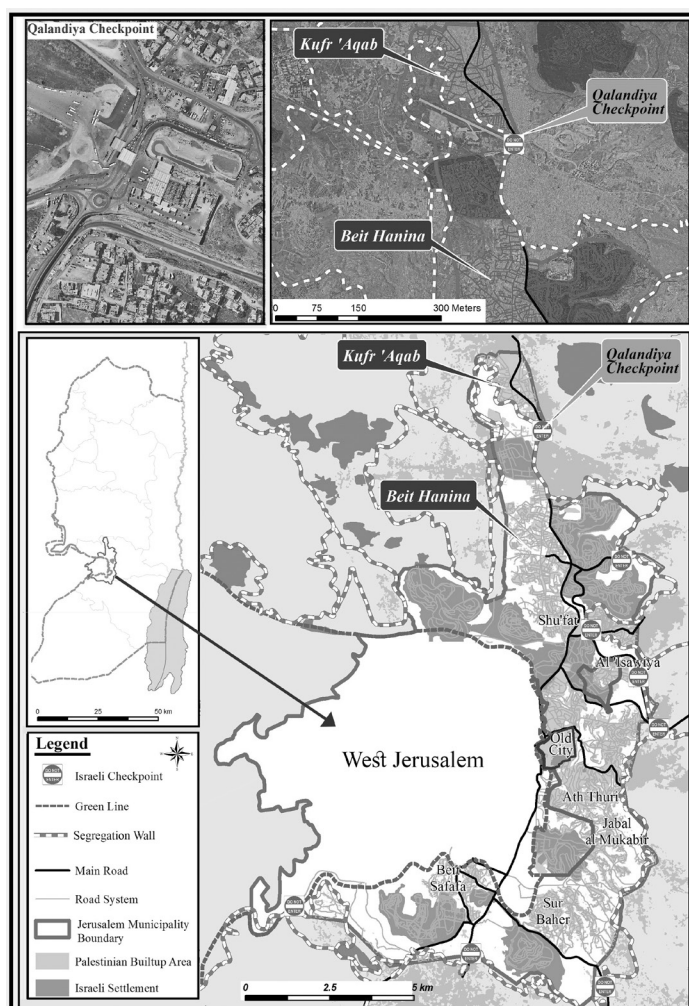


Figure 1. Map of Jerusalem showing Kufr Aqab, Qalandia Checkpoint, and the Segregation Wall.



Figure 2. Both sides of the main Jerusalem-Ramallah Road split by the Segregation Wall, approaching Qalandia Checkpoint.



Figure 3. Different viewpoints of overcrowded Kufr Aqab.

In Jerusalem, the Segregation Wall has further created outcast municipal areas like the neighborhood of Kufr Aqab which is within the municipal boundaries but outside the Segregation Wall. Consequently, residents in such areas need to pass through checkpoints, to reach other parts of the city.

Kufr Aqab is located in Jerusalem, 11 kilometers north from the Old City. It has been affected greatly by the Israeli colonial urban planning whether through Israeli settlement building, implantation of Israeli checkpoints or the construction of the Segregation Wall. It is now encircled by the Israeli

settlement of Kokhav Ya'akov, the Qalandia checkpoint, and the Segregation Wall; it has no possibility for expanding horizontally because 30.6% of the surrounding land was confiscated for the purposes of the Israeli settlement (ARIJ 2012: 15).

The Qalandia checkpoint, located in the northern part of Jerusalem, south of Kufr Aqab, is the checkpoint through which most people from Kufr Aqab have to commute daily in order to reach other areas within the municipal boundaries of Jerusalem located inside the Segregation Wall (See Figure 3). This directly affects their daily

temporal patterns because of elongated intervals of waiting-time at the check-point. The planning and management of these military crossing points have impacted how the people of Kufr Aqab perceive, manage and practice the temporal patterns of their daily life. The focus of this paper shall therefore be on the temporal aspect of the everyday life of the people living in Kufr Aqab.

2. Research question and methodology

The aim of this research is to discuss the impact of the spatial policy of colonial urban planning in Jerusalem on the dynamics of “time” whether in terms of succession or perception by the local Palestinian inhabitants. The objective is to contribute to the study of colonial urban planning and the role of colonial elements of control in imposing a way of life on the colonized. A specific focus shall be on the colonial impact on how time is spent, managed, and perceived. These shall be discussed using the theory of “Form of Time” introduced by Elliott Jaques (1982), which discusses the axes of succession and intention of time. The axis of succession of time entails the flow of events that could be recorded in sequence of earlier and later events, and the axis of intention of time could be explained as a slice of the axis of succession that can have a mapping of the contemporaneous past, present, and future (Jaques 1982: 103). The choice of Jaques’s theory on the form of time is based on its comprehensiveness and its potential to provide explanations of socio-political temporal dynamics.

The main research questions of this paper are: How does the spatial policy of colonial urban planning enable the depletion of accomplishment of time of the colonized? And how do local colonized residents (the Palestinians) perceive the dynamics of “time” in their everyday life?

The following sub-questions extend from the main questions:

- How does colonial urban planning affect the “time of succession” of the colonized people? What are the experiences that create elongated time “episodes” (periods)?

- How is the dimension of “time of intention” affected in the daily lives of the colonized people? And how does the checkpoint temporally affect the daily lives of the Palestinians from the area of Kufr Aqab in terms of perception and practice, and thus impact their past, present, and future?

The methodology used to discuss these questions combines quantitative and qualitative analysis. The qualitative part is based on the theory of Elliott Jaques on the “Form of Time”, specifically his proposed axis of succession and the axis of intention. Their analyses are discussed within the context of the spatial policy of colonial urban planning. The quantitative part includes fieldwork through the collection of data using questionnaires. Given the population number of Kufr Aqab being at least 48,291 (based on the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, 2017), a representative sample should include 266 people (on a confidence level of 95% and margin of error of 6%). The sample, in this study exceeded this number to 284 people who were willing to participate in this survey, living in Kufr Aqab and who passed through checkpoints at least six times a week. They were asked questions about the patterns of their daily life movement and especially through the Qalandia checkpoint, their perception of time as well as their daily management of it. Two field researchers walked the streets of Kufr Aqab, knocked on doors, and asked people to participate in the survey after explaining the purpose of the research. Children participated only after obtaining their parents’ approval. The survey took place on different week days and at different times of the day, during the months of August until early December of 2018.

2.1. Description of sample

The sample consisted of 284 people of which 55.6% were males and 44.4% were females, ranging from the age of below 18 (teenagers) to above 65 years old. The highest percentage 33.5% was the age group between 18-25 years old. The sample had diverse educational levels: 35.2% had less than a high-school education level, and 24.6%

had a BA degree. They were also either students 26.1% (of schools, colleges, or universities), or working in different types of jobs, such as workers in Israel 31%, or employees 30.3%. Of the total respondents, 72% crossed the checkpoint on their way to work in Jerusalem, and 22% crossed the checkpoint to go to educational facilities. More than 46% used private cars while more than 49% used buses (public transportation). They had different levels of family income, and most of them (over 96%) were holders of Jerusalem Identity Cards (IDs) (See Table 1 and Table 2).

The qualitative and quantitative analyses are used to reflect on the relation between the use of colonial urban planning as a spatial policy by the colonial power and its impact on temporal dynamics of the colonized on two levels: 1) how Palestinians handle their everyday practices, and 2) how their perception of “time” is developed. The results of the research shall provide a new understanding of colonial urban planning and its impact on the colonized, not only spatially but also temporally. This in turn has wider implications on reducing inequality, making cities inclusive and promoting just and peaceful societies as stipulated

in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the United Nations Rio de Janeiro Conference on Sustainable Development, Rio+20 in 2012 (UN, 2012).

3. The case of Kufr Aqab- A part of Jerusalem left behind the Segregation Wall

Kufr Aqab, located in the northern part of Jerusalem, has transformed from a village to a congested urban area over the past two decades. It is inhabited mainly by Palestinian Jerusalemites who cannot afford to rent or buy housing units in Jerusalem inside the Wall, and by married couples in which one of the spouses has a Jerusalem ID and the other has a Palestinian West Bank ID. This is because the spouse with the Palestinian ID cannot enter the Jerusalem part within the Segregation Wall without an Israeli permit. He/she cannot live inside the Wall except after going through a complicated, long procedure of “family reunification” application at the Israeli Ministry of Interior. The procedure normally takes a long period of time, often more than ten years, and even then the application could be rejected after going through different phases that might include deliberations and decisions in the Israeli courts.

Table 1. Description of sample.

Age		Social Status		Education Level		Profession		Number of family members		Family Income in New Israeli Shekels (NIS)	
In years	%	Description	%	Description	%	Description	%	In numbers	%	In NIS	%
Less than 18	14.8	Single	53.5	Less than high school	35.2	Student	26.1	2	2.5	2000-4999	2.8
18-25	33.5	Married	40.8	High school	23.6	Employee	30.3	3	7	5000-7999	19.4
26-35	21.5	Divorced	1.8	Diplome	15.5	Worker in Israel	31	4	17.3	8000-10999	40.5
36-45	20.1	Widowed	3.9	BA	24.6	Own work	7.4	5	23.9	11000-13999	30.3
46-55	8.1			MA	1.1	No work	3.5	6	28.5	14000-16999	5.6
56-65	1.4					Housewife	1.8	7	12.3	17000-20000	0.7
Over 65	0.7							8	6.7	Un-specified	0.7
								9-10	1.8		

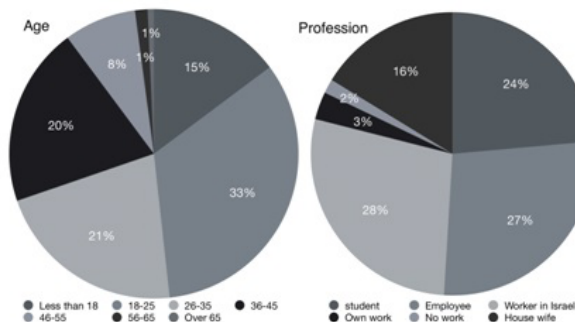




Figure 4. Different viewpoints of Qalandia Checkpoint from within and outside the Segregation Wall.

The high increase in the number of residents of Kufr Aqab could be viewed as the outcome of various Israeli policies whether political, urban, or legal. People, who cannot live in Jerusalem within the Segregation Wall, find no other option but to live in such areas as Kufr Aqab, to fulfill the requirements of the Israeli “Center of Life Policy” – enforced on Palestinians only – to maintain their legal status as Jerusalemites and to be able to carry Jerusalem IDs (See Figure 4). This policy has been enforced by the Israeli Ministry of Interior since 1995, which requires Palestinians holding Jerusalem IDs to live within the Municipal boundaries of Jerusalem and to prove that their “center of life” is in Jerusalem. Lack of such proof exposes them to the threat of having their residency in Jerusalem revoked, and thus losing their legal status; since 1967, at least 14,500 Palestinian Jerusalemites have had their residencies revoked by the Israeli authorities (OCHA-OPT, 2017).

People living in Kufr Aqab persevere bearing the congested living conditions while under the constant threat of losing their residency, should the Israeli authorities enforce a new policy to exclude such areas behind the Wall from the Municipal boundaries to reduce the number of Jerusalemite Palestinians in the city. In fact, Israeli officials including the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin

Netanyahu, in 2015, mentioned the idea of revoking the residency status of Palestinians living behind the Wall; they could be denied entry to Jerusalem at any entry point through the Wall when the checkpoints are closed, or when a change in their status may be imposed. Such policies and statements are in tune with the Municipality’s Master Plan for 2020 – or the Jerusalem 2000 Plan – which specifically stated the goal to reduce the percentage of the Palestinians in the city from 40% to 30%.

In 2008, the Civic Coalition for Defense of Palestinian Rights in Jerusalem in conjunction with the Engineering Center for Studies and Planning in Haifa prepared a report analyzing the Jerusalem Plan 2020. It indicated that while Israel was a signatory of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the Rio de Janeiro Conference of 2012, it has continued to use its Jerusalem 2000 Plan as the reference to implement its discriminatory and colonial policies and practices towards Palestinians in Occupied East Jerusalem. The Jerusalem 2000 Plan has been the reference for Israeli planning authorities and the Jerusalem Municipality for drawing up master-plans for expanding illegal Israeli settlements in Occupied East Jerusalem, for restricting the issuing of building permits for Palestinians, and exacerbating the shortages and needs of the

growing Palestinian population in the city. The Jerusalem 2000 Plan set its goal to enforce a Jewish population majority of 70% in the city and to enforce the reduction of Palestinian residents in the city to a maximum of 30%. Indeed, by the end of 2017, at least a third of Palestinian homes in East Jerusalem did not have Israeli-issued building permits meaning that a potential 100,000 Palestinians still face the threat of being displaced; also, since 2000, around 1,400 Palestinian houses and structures have been demolished by the Israeli authorities (OCHA-OPT, 2017). These policies and practices contradict the SDGs goal to reduce the inequalities within countries (goal 10); they in fact maintain inequality in the city. The Jerusalem 2000 Plan furthermore contradicts the SDGs of promoting peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development (goal 16). Not only has the plan not taken into account the social and economic structure of the Palestinian population in East Jerusalem, but it has ignored to provide solutions to solve the Palestinian housing crisis and to advance their social and economic status in the city. Indeed, by the end of 2017, 73% of Palestinian residents in East Jerusalem and 83% of its Palestinian children were living below the Israeli-defined poverty line (OCHA-OPT, 2017). The consequences of the implementation of the Jerusalem 2000 Plan are in violation of the SDGs (goal 11) to make cities and human settlements inclusive, resilient and sustainable (UN, 2012a). Such policies and practices which aim to enhance Israeli control and presence in Occupied East Jerusalem at the expense of the Palestinian Jerusalemites, have been deemed as colonial in nature (Veracini, 2006, 86; Wolfe 2006).

Several studies have discussed the suffering of the people living in Kufr Aqab. Doaa Hammoudeh & et. al. (2016), using a methodology of 63 in-depth interviews with people living in Kufr Aqab, discussed the interconnection between the political and social contexts and their impact on the well-being and quality of life of the residents of Kufr Aqab, and especially the spouses with different legal status. Further discussion on the suffering of these spouses was discussed by Fadwa Alla-

badi and Tareq Hardan, where they focused on the legal status of these people and its impact on the choice of place of living and the suffering they encounter, especially on women (See Allabadi and Hardan 2016). Candace Graff (2014) also discussed how the political context has impacted different sectors such as infrastructure, education and health in areas of Jerusalem behind the Wall like Kufr Aqab and Shufat refugee camp and how it has negatively affected the lives of the people.

Colonial urban planning affects the people of Kufr Aqab in different ways. They have to live in this congested area which lacks possibilities of urban expansion. They have to pass through fixed checkpoint structures to pass through the Segregation Wall. According to the sample of this research, 98% of those who commute to Jerusalem go through the Qalandia checkpoint. This affects their daily lives as parents and as children who may have to commute back and forth for work or school in Jerusalem. Teachers and students are stopped and checked, delaying their arrival to schools. Moving across the Qalandia checkpoint impinges on these people in the way they regulate their daily schedules when commuting back and forth. This is because the checkpoint resembles a border crossing but within the same city, and crossing it is an uncertain journey that could be done in ten minutes or could take several hours. The uncertainty of crossing the checkpoint is part of a wider context that is affected by the spatial policy of colonial urban planning implemented by the Israeli Government by leaving such areas as Kufr Aqab behind the Segregation Wall. The impact of the checkpoint goes beyond crossing it, but encompasses the whole context of mobility before and after the checkpoint, and experiences within these spaces.

4. The dynamics of the “Form of Time” in everyday life in colonized Jerusalem

Elliott Jaques, in his book “The Form of Time” (1982), discussed the concept of time, the experience of time, and the organization of time by developing a theory based on two dimensions. He explains:

"There is the axis of succession threaded with an infinite number of discontinuous points along which can be mapped a recordable and dateable sequence of earlier and later events. Then there is the axis of intention abstractable as a single dateable slice cutting across the axis of succession, and on to which can be mapped the field of contemporaneous past, present, and future. Each of the two dimensions of time is associated with a different cognitive modality. The axis of succession is experienced in terms of the atomistic modality, characteristic of conscious focused perception of things at a distance from other things distributed earlier or later in time. The axis of intention is experienced in terms of the less discriminated field modality, characteristic of preconscious awareness and unconscious sense, without focused things, without consciously known boundaries, but with a general sense of wholeness and intention and of unconscious contemporaneous field-of-force of past, present, and future directed toward a goal" (Jaques 1982: 103).

According to Jaques's analysis, it is important to identify two dimensions of time, as one dimension would not be sufficient to analyze the external and internal temporal dynamics. One dimension would not consider the internal psychological perceptions, whether conscious or unconscious, or the social measures. Therefore the axis of intention would include the dimension of the experience, rather than only the calculation of a temporal episode (Jaques, 1982: 105, 121). The present is extensive as it has the temporal and spatial order; it includes the memory, the perception, the desire and intent. The present is lived in time-filled episodes, within a temporal frame... (Jaques 1982: 125).

Time of succession entails readings of periods of time without necessarily having a clear direction in the space or relation with past or future, but rather an abstraction of points in time - abstract reading that is expressed in clock time but not reflected in a specific meaning of the episode of time. While in the axis of succession one could read the various temporal stages within an

episode, in the axis of intention, each moment will encompass a combination of memory (past), perception (present), and desire (future) that influence how time is experienced. In the adaptation of new circumstances, the experience is constantly changing and developing as the relations between the past-present (memory), the present-present (perception), and the future-present (desire) are continually changing and developing (Jaques 1982: 121). The influence of past and future on present is evident also in the adjustment responses of "past" and "future" at the "present" moment. The perceived image of the past is adjusted and the future has a modifying affect (De Gans 1994: 339). If the moment of the present according to Jaques is filled with a living memory, living perception, and living desire and intent (Jaques 1982: 125), then how would a moment be described under a colonial setting when the time of the colonized population is continually and continuously expanding to include more moments of present within? While Jaques suggested this as a theory under normal circumstances, how does living under a colonial setting influence the axis of succession and the axis of intention in the daily lives of the colonized?

Under a colonial setting, and by implementing strategies of colonial urban planning, a new spatial order is introduced to characterize the colonized space with segregation and control. This in turn has an impact on how time is managed by the colonized population, as the spatial order would affect the mobility and achievements of tasks. When moments of present are inflated to include more moments - as new loops of moments are interjected within, the axis of succession encompasses more than was planned in terms of reading and measurement, and thus the axis of intention would have a more developing impact on the individual. When asked, 89% of the study sample of people in Kufr Aqab agreed that the city planning affected "time"; 68.3% thought that the way the city is planned, extensively affects time while 21.8% thought it affected time a little bit; 9.9% did not think that city planning affected time and time perception and management in daily life (See Table 2).

Table 2. Crossing checkpoint data (spatial and temporal).

Means of transportation		Crossing checkpoint per week		Time spent at checkpoint		Does city planning affect time?	
Description	%	Times per Week	%	In minute	%	Description	%
private cars	45.4	10	46.1	31-60	31.7	Yes extensively	68.3
Bus	45.1	12	18.3	61-90	44.7	Yes- A little bit	21.8
Other means	9.5	14	19	91-120	15.5	No	9.9

Means of transportation

● Private car ● Bus ● Other means

Crossing checkpoint per week

● 10 times ● 12 times ● 14 times

Time spent at checkpoint

● 31-60 min ● 61-90 min ● 91-120 min

Table 3. Perceptions and experiences of checkpoint.

Perception of Time lost		Making use of time while crossing checkpoint		Delays at checkpoint during previous month		Way of compensating lost time		Compensation of lost time	
In minutes per day	%	Description	%	Times per month	%	Description	%	Description	%
0-30 min per day	41.9	Yes	37.3	0-5	63.3	Compensating work hours	43	Yes	71.5
31-60 min per day	43.7	No	62.7	6-10	25.7	Study at home	15.1	No	25.7
				11-15	16	Payment of money	14.8		
				16-20	3.5	No compensation	1.1		
				21-25	1	No answer	26.1		
				26-30	0.7				

Delays at checkpoint during previous month

● 0-5 times ● 6-10 times ● 11-15 times ● 16-20 times ● 21-25 times ● 26-30 times

Way of compensating lost time

● Work hours ● Study at home ● Payment of money ● No compensation ● No answer

In Kufr Aqab, the time dimension is often violated as uncertainty is the apparent state during mobility, as with the uncertainty of achieving tasks on time during the day. Therefore, new temporal episodes are created while waiting to commute from one place to another through checkpoints, or while in traffic congestions created by the colonial urban policies which have

made Kufr Aqab a bottle neck area for Palestinian traffic from the north to the central area. This is especially the case when crossing the Qalandia checkpoint, as the study sample indicated that 98.2% move through the Qalandia checkpoint to go to Jerusalem and its environs. Most of them crossed it on a daily basis and experienced temporal episodes of waiting

to get through. In the axis of succession, the calculated number of times of crossing was ten times per week for 46.1% of the study sample, 18.3% of the sample crossed it 12 times per week, and 19% crossed it 14 times per week. While going from Kufr Aqab to Jerusalem past the Segregation Wall is supposedly a short journey within the same city which, under normal circumstances, takes less than half an hour, the temporal episodes of crossing are expanded greatly. On average, and within these journeys of daily schedule, 44.7% of the sample spent between an hour and an hour and a half (61-90 minutes) going from Kufr Aqab to cross the checkpoint; 31.7% spent between half an hour to an hour (31-60 minutes), and 15.5% spend between an hour to two hours (91-120 minutes). While returning to Kufr Aqab, 43.3% of the sample spend between half an hour to two hours (91-120 minutes), and 31% spend half an hour to an hour (31-60 minutes) (See table 2). In terms of the perception of the loss of temporal episodes, 43.7% of the study sample perceived that they lost between half an hour to an hour (31-60 minutes) every day. According to their answers, in the last month of conducting this survey, 25.7% were delayed 6-10 times, 16% were delayed 11-15 times, and 3.5% were delayed 16-20 times (See table 3).

This measurement of time does not end with the crossing, but is extended further: 71.5% of the sample needed to compensate for the time lost while commuting daily through the checkpoint into and out of the Segregation Wall. This happened to 43% of the sample who had to make up for lost time by working extra hours, or their salaries would be cut accordingly as was the case for 14.8% of the study sample. Others, 15.1%, had to spend more time studying at home because they were late for their lectures and classes. However, only over a third (37.3% of the sample) thought that they could make use of the time lost while crossing the checkpoint, but in practice most of the people (62.7%) could not use it, especially those who were driving (See Table 3).

In Kufr Aqab, it is clear that on the axis of succession episodes of time were expanded and repeated. This was because every step took much longer time than anticipated due to the closure and surveillance policies that resulted from the colonial urban planning of the area, and from the checking procedures of people crossing the checkpoint. While moments within the axis of succession encompassed the axis of intention, these were further developed and accelerated to affect the experience and the quality of time that was spent. The steps of going through the checkpoint did not only include reaching the checkpoint, getting checked and leaving it; each step encompassed new experiences and interactions with spaces and people while waiting. This does not necessarily mean that individuals were conscious of how and why these experiences are specifically developed. This is significant in the axis of intention as 72.8% of the sample expressed anger and nervousness, and 8.8% felt humiliated while crossing the checkpoint. Yet, 69.7% accepted the existence of the checkpoint as a daily reality that would not seem to change; only 29.9% thought of it as a temporary setting that would be removed one day. This could be because the sample included 48.3% individuals who were under 25 years old representing the generation that has grown up experiencing the existence of the Wall and the checkpoints and who have not seen or experienced a different setting, particularly how it looked like before the Wall, in contrast with the older generations who have experienced a time before the Segregation Wall was constructed.

How did the people of Kufr Aqab manage their daily life and how did they perceive "time"? The moments of suffering while commuting daily through the checkpoint or while managing daily tasks, were inflated thus affecting the feelings and experiences. Almost all of the people within the sample (96.8%) expressed their distress and annoyance with the successive congestion as they approached the checkpoint and when they crossed it; 15.8% of the sample explained that they had encountered specific un-

pleasant incidents at the checkpoint, such as problems with soldiers due to security suspicions, security checks, or problems with checking their documents (See Table 4).

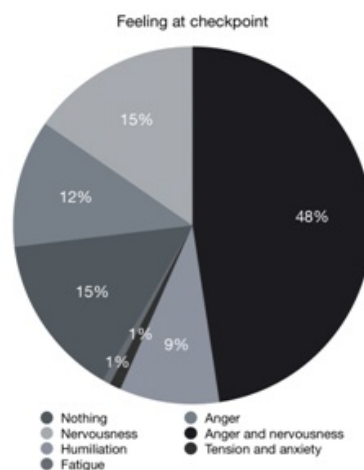
This also added to the loss of time and intensified the feelings of disturbance during the moments of crossing the checkpoint. The experiences at the checkpoint became the dominant episodes because of the intensity of the resulting distress and from the feeling of having lost time. These experiences also affected the successive temporal episodes of the day, since the individual in pursuit of the aspirations to continue with their schedule of the day, would use memories of experiences and perceptions of the personal inner, and outer worlds. Jaques explains the relation between past, present, and future and the perceptual organization of time of a person in the following quote:

“Past, present, and future are all simultaneously and continuously together as one integrated field in his mind as he orients and implements in the course of this dialing episode. They constitute the changing content of the person’s outlook mapped onto the temporal axis of intention” (Jaques 1982: 121-2).

Each episode of time influenced by colonial urban planning affected the axes of succession and intention in several ways: by having to deal with the existence of congestion and the need to pass through the Segregation Wall, and by experiencing the crossing of the checkpoint which developed additional daily experiences. These experiences developed memories that affected the development of the present-of-the-past, in the sense of directly impacting the present-of-the-present. This affected the organization of mental activity that would assess the desired present that is foreseen for the short-term or longer future. Jaques denotes: “[t]he particular organization of memory, perception, desire, and intention in each person sets the limits of personal identity and of meaning and defines the individual self” (Jaques 1982:104). Each individual differs from the other, in setting his or her goals and in the way of dealing with them in terms of temporal episodes. The mind oscillates between “an orientating stance and an implementing stance - between planning, evaluation, and direction and goal-setting, on the one hand, and

Table 4. *Encountering the checkpoint.*

Feeling at Checkpoint		Most annoying aspects at checkpoint		Incident at checkpoint	
Description	%	Description	%	Description	%
Nothing	14.4	Congestion	30.6	Incidents (problems with soldiers, security checks, paper problems, security doubts by soldiers)	15.8
Anger	11.3	Congestion and other things like: Cutting the line by others, beggars, infringing on private space, Street vendors	66.2		
Nervousness	15				
Anger and Nervousness	46.5				
Humiliation	8.8				
Tension and anxiety	1				
Fatigue	0.7				



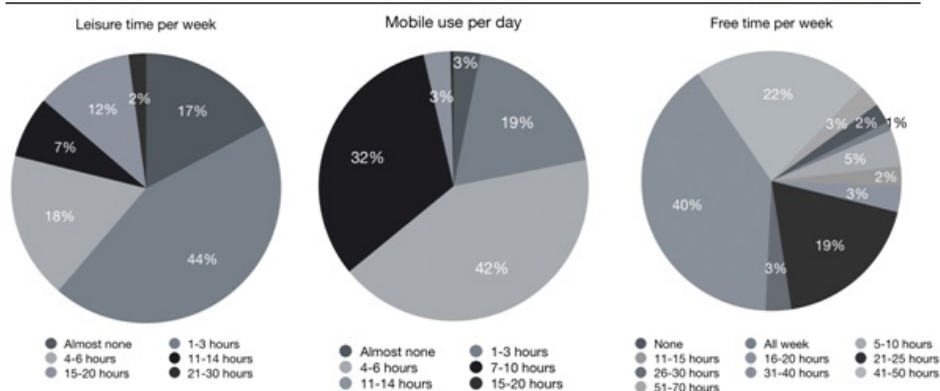
acting in the direction set and carrying out planned activity, on the other” (Jaques 1982: 104).

However, when successive disappointments are faced, and moments become stuck and expanded with further loops of moments that create new temporal episodes, the desire to accept further temporal episodes in the longer run, decreases; thus activities which encompass further mobility within the colonized space decreases. This means that people tend to reschedule their goals to other priorities that meet their basic needs and represent the most important goals. Jaques explains two aspects related to this rescheduling. The first is that our goals are not static; they are changing entities, they are often modified whether in terms of contents or targeted time of completion (Jaques 1982: 115). It could also be cancelled depending on conscious or unconscious evaluations. The second aspect is that the individual is continually making evaluations in the “context of his past experience and knowledge and in relation to his intentions” (Jaques 1982: 116). These experiences inform the present of what is to be achieved or suspended.

The results of the field work in Kufr Aqab, showed that there are trends in how time is managed and organized. Suspension and abandoning of desires and consequently setting up of goals are evident. Quality- time is therefore minimized due to experiences that are successively disappointing. This is evident in the way time is managed and used. Almost 40% of the sample had 31-40 hours of free time per week; 21.8% had 41-50 hours free per week, and 18.7% had 21-25 free hours. This meant that around 80% had between 21 and 50 free hours per week spent mostly at home. This indicated that there was a kind of retraction from exposing oneself to disappointments. When asked about leisure time, 17.2% of the sample had no, or almost no, time allocated for leisure per week, and 44% had one to three hours per week only. This means that over 50% had three or fewer hours for leisure per week. Also, 62.3% of the study sample spent no more than three hours per week for socializing and visiting relatives; 10.5% even allocated none or almost no time for visiting relatives even from the immediate nuclear family. People tended to spend more time at home and spent

Table 5. Utilization and amount of free time.

Leisure time per week		Visiting relatives per week		Mobile use per day		Free time per week	
In hours	%	In hours	%	In hours	%	In hours	%
Almost none	17.2	Almost none	10.5	None or very little	3.2	None	2.5
1-3 hours	44	1-3 hours	62.3	1-3 hours	18.7	All the week	1.1
4-6 hours	17.6	4-6 hours	16.5	4-6 hours	42.3	5-10	4.6
11-14 hours	7.4	7-10 hours	7.4	7-10	32.4	11-15	2.5
15-20 hours	11.6	11-14	0.7	11-14	3.2	16-20	3.2
21-30 hours	2.1	15-20	2.1	15-20	0.4	21-25	18.7
						26-30	3.2
						31-40	39.8
						41-50	21.8
						51-70	2.8



hours navigating their mobiles; 42.3% spent four to six hours per day, while 32.4% spent seven to ten hours. This means that almost 75% spent between four to seven hours on their mobiles (See Table 5).

So despite the abundance of free time, there was no desire to achieve quality time, or recreation because the memories and experiences created by exposure to mobility in the colonized space, affected the past-present, the present-present, and the anticipated-future. Consequently, desires were reevaluated, changed, and goals were deviated. This also was an indication of the deep frustration from the difficulty encountered to achieve quality and recreation time.

5. Conclusion

The article has shown that changing and re-changing decisions of everyday life, within a representative sample of the inhabitants of Kufr Aqab was reflective of how the colonial setting deeply affected the lives of the colonized people. On the one hand, the present was affected by the past and perceived future, and thus affected decisions of the moments of the present that cumulatively changed the perception of time and consequently changed the goals to adapt to circumstances and the decisions of everyday activities. On the other hand, these cumulatively affected or changed the lifestyle of the individual.

While other colonial studies have discussed how colonial urban planning affected the colonized people, the temporal aspect was missing. This article delved within the temporal aspect to show how the present is affected by analyzing the internal and external social and psychological aspects within the individuals, thus adding a new analytical dimension to colonial urban studies.

Through the case of Kufr Aqab, the article showed how Israeli colonial urban planning has created a geopolitical map in Jerusalem with spaces of separation and segregation that have affected the daily lives of the Palestinians. Through the use of Elliotte Jaques's Axes of Succession and Intention, the article showed that the impacts of Israeli policies on the temporal dynamics of Palestinians were great, if not quite

significant. It was not only the succession of elongated periods of time that were lost while pursuing daily mobility to work, education and other important needs, but also daily lifestyle practices were changed due to the intensity of the events experienced. What culminated was a change in the essence of the perception of time.

The results of the research are important at least on three levels: On the Palestinian level, the research articulates the aspects of colonial control that need to be addressed and factored into re-claiming agency in countering policies implementing a unilateral colonial version of the future. These outcomes could be used by policy-makers, human rights organizations and local communities to advocate rights against spatial and temporal colonization as well as thinking of policies and ways which factor rectifying the resulting appropriation of space and the consequent change in the perception of time and its use. On the level of action that could be taken, it is important as it provides relevant information that could be used in Palestinian alternative urban planning which could confront colonial urban planning. And, on a societal level, it provides information to increase the awareness of the local colonized population in terms of rethinking their daily temporal patterns and the potential ways of redesigning them more efficiently and effectively. Also, this could give an indication about the extent to which technology could be used to break-up the exclusive colonial control of time and space. Furthermore, the raw data produced could be used for further research on the topic of patterns of daily life and the use of time in Jerusalem and in other contexts whether in Palestine or in other countries.

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